

# Some Berber Etymologies XI

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## Abstract

My series „Some Berber Etymologies” is to gradually reveal the still unknown immense Afro-Asiatic heritage in the Berber lexical stock. The first part with some miscellaneous Berber etymologies was published back in 1996. Recently, I continued the series according to initial root consonants<sup>1</sup> in course of my research for the volumes of the „*Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian*” (abbreviated as EDE, Leiden, since 1999, Brill)<sup>2</sup> with a much more extensive lexicographical apparatus on the cognate Afro-Asiatic daughter languages. As for the present part, it greatly exploits the results of my ongoing work for the the fourth volume of EDE (analyzing the Eg. lexical stock with initial n-).

The present part contains etymologies of Berber roots with initial \*n- followed by dental stops. The numeration of the entries continues that of the preceding parts of this series. In order to spare room, I quote those well-attested and widespread lexical roots that appear common Berber, only through a few illustrative examples. The underlying regular consonant correspondences between Berber vs. Afro-Asiatic agree with those established by the Russian team of I. M. Diakonoff and summarized by A. Ju. Militarev (1991, 242-3).

## Berber \*n- + \*-d-

**384. Brb.** \*√ndC<sub>3</sub> "battre (le lait)" [GT] > NBrb.: Wargla √nd: ə-nd "être battu (lait), former son beurre" [Dlh. 1987, 211] | Mzg. √nd: e-nd "être battu, baratté (lait), former son beurre (lait)", ti-ndi, pl. ti-nda "battage du lait, barattage" [Tf. 1991, 461], Zayan and Sgugu √ndu: e-nnu "1. battre le lait pour en retirer le beurre, 2. être battu (lait)" [Lbg. 1924, 572] | Shenwa e-ndu "être battu (beurre)" [Lst. 1912, 147] | Qabyle √nd: e-ndu "être battu, former son beurre (lait)" [Dlt. 1982, 541] || EBrb.: Ghadames e-nd "dépiquer (le mil)" [Lanfry 1973, 234, #1092]<sup>3</sup> || Sem.: Geez nadʿa "to drive (away), push, lead (off), urge on, spur, impel, cause to be fast etc." [Lsl.], Tigrinya nädʿe "to push forward" [Lsl.], cf. Harari tä-nädaʿa "to resign o'self" (lit. "to be pushed") [Lsl.], Amharic nädä "to goad, push, drive cattle" [Lsl.] (ES: Lsl. 1963, 117; 1969, 59; 1987, 385) || Eg. nd "to thrust (?) into (r)" (PT 1488b, AEPT 229, 329)<sup>4</sup> || NOm.: Chara nad-ā, -ē, -ō "burro" [Crl. 1938 III, 173] = nəd-a "butter" [Bnd. 1974 MS, 15] || CCh.: Daba nda "2. battre, frapper" [Mch. 1966, 140].

<sup>1</sup> "Some Berber Etymologies II: Berber Lexical Roots with \*b-" appeared in *Lingua Posnaniensis* 45 (2003), 93-119; „Some Berber Etymologies III: Berber Lexical Roots with \*b-” was published in Naït-Zerrad, K. & Ibriszimow, D. & Voßen, R. (eds.): *Nouvelles études berbères, Le verbe et autres articles. Actes du „2. Bayreuth-Frankfurter Kolloquium zur Berberologie”, Berber Studies* vol. 8, Köln, 2004., Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, pp. 191-204; „Some Berber Etymologies IV: Berber Lexical Roots with \*f-” in *Studia Etymologica Cracoviensia* 10 (2005), 173-201; „Some Berber Etymologies V: Berber Lexical Roots with \*m-” appeared in *Folia Orientalia* 44 (2008), 89-105; „Some Berber Etymologies VI: Berber Lexical Roots with \*m-” was published in *Journal of Linguistic Relationship (Moscow)* 2 (2009), 91-113. „Some Berber Etymologies VII: Berber Lexical Roots with \*-r/l/w/y-” is forthcoming in Mettouchi, A. (éd.): «Parcours berbères»: *Mélanges offerts à Paulette Galand-Pernet et Lionel Galand pour leur 90<sup>e</sup> anniversaire*, Köln, 2011., Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, pp. 97-115. "Some Berber Etymologies VIII" appeared in Serra, L. & Tolla, A. M. di & Ghaki, M. & Habouss, A. (éds.): *Pluralità e dinamismo culturale nelle società berbere attuali, Studi Africanistici, Quaderni di Studi Berberi e Libico-Berberi* 1, Napoli, 2011., UNIOR (l'Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale"). Pp. 79-90. "Some Berber Etymologies IX" is forthcoming in Allati, A. (éd.): *Auréoies berbères: Mélanges Offerts à Michael Peyron* (Köln, probably to appear in 2013, Rüdiger Köppe Verlag), whereas part X is to appear in *Lingua Posnaniensis* (Poznań) 55 (2013).

<sup>2</sup> Which was carried out partially during my research fellowship at Frankfurt (Institut für Afrikanische Sprachwissenschaften) in 1999-2000 and 2002, which was facilitated by the grant of the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation (Bonn). I express my utmost thanks to the Humboldt Foundation as well as to my professor in Frankfurt, Herrmann Jungraithmayr, the prominent Chadicist, for his invaluable help and support.

<sup>3</sup> In the older lit., this Brb. root was erroneously combined with Eg.-Sem. \*√ndy "to cast down" [GT], which, however, should be carefully distinguished from the Eg.-Sem. root discussed in this entry.

<sup>4</sup> R. O. Faulkner (AEPT 230, n. 7) surmised that PT nd "may well be the *niph'al*" of Eg. d(w) "to place".

**385. NBrb.: Mzg. nada** "1. (re)chercher, 2. parcourir, errer (à la recherche de subsistance), trimer, peiner (pour vivre)" [Tf. 1991, 462] || WCh.: PAngas \*n<sup>y</sup>ōt [Takács 2004, 276]: Angas nyoot „to gaze, stare, stand in tip-toe to look” [Flk. 1915, 258] = nyòt (K) „to gaze in standing on the toes, on tip toe” [Jng. 1962 MS, 31].<sup>5</sup>

**386. WBrb.: Zenaga √ndr: e-nder** "brûler, flamber" [Bst. 1909, 247] = (ə)-ndār ~ ə-ndār ~ è-ndār "(se) brûler, flamber" [Ncl. 1953, 228] || ES: Tigre nädra "to burn heavily", Tigrinya nädärä "to take fire, be angry" (ES: Lsl. 1982, 55). Borrowing excluded, since no Ar. reflex is known.

#### Berber \*n- + \*-t-

**387. Brb. \*√ntC<sub>3</sub>** "to push" [GT] > NBrb.: Shilh ntu "pousser" [Jordan 1934, 97] | Qabyle √nt: e-ntu "être enfoncé, fiché, s'enfoncer", sse-ntu "piquer, enfoncer, planter" [Dlt. 1982, 580] || WBrb.: Zenaga e-nti "piquer (sans pénétrer)" [Cohen-TC 2000, 285] || Eg. ntj "in Bedrängnis sein, gefangen sein" (NK hapax: Pap. Torino 1882, 5:1, Wb II 351, 6) = "to be choked or stifled" (Grd. 1956, 15 with a 2<sup>nd</sup> example) = "être opprimé" (AL 78.2271) = "to be choked, stifled" (DLE II 38) = "erwürgt, erstickt, bedrückt werden" (GHWb 440).

**388. SBrb.: EWlmd. ā-nṭu and Ayr ā-nṭu ~ ə-nṭu** "1. être commencé, commencer (intr.), 2. (Ayr) être solidement fixé (poteau, arbre, personne), bien installé, établi, solidement enraciné, avoir fait un bon début" [PAM 2003, 629] || Eg. ntt "herstellen mit Bezug auf Bauen" (GR, Wb II 357, 5) = "enfermer dans des limites (?)" (Meeks 1977, 88, fm. 6)<sup>6</sup>.

**389. SBrb.: EWlmd. and Ayr tə-nte**, pl. tə-nta-wen "femelle, être de sexe féminin etc." [PAM 2003, 629] || PCu. \*naṭ- "woman" [Bnd. 1994, 1163, #98] > LECu.: Oromo naḍḍ-ēn, pl. naḍḍ-ō ~ naḍḍ-ēniwōn "woman, lady" [Gragg 1982, 298] || SCu.: Dahalo nāt-a, pl. naṭ-o, -e "woman, wife" [EEN 1989, 39]<sup>7</sup>.

**390. NBrb.: Mzg. √nt: i-nit** "avoir des envies, des caprices (femme enceinte), être en état de grossesse (femme)", ti-nit "état de grossesse" [Tf. 1991, 504] || Sem.: Ar. √nt?: nataʔa I "1. être haut, élevé, 3. enfler (plaie, abcès), 4. avoir grandi et être nubile (une jeune fille)", √ntw: natā I "enfler (n memre du corps)", X "enfler et aboutir (un abcès)" [BK II 1195, 1199].

**391. Brb. \*√ntf** "to pluck" [GT] > NBrb.: Izdeg ntef "arracher, épiler, plumer" [Mrc. 1937, 23, 105, 196] | Mzab ə-ntəf "arracher (en tirant), cueillir (en tirant), épiler, peler" [Dlh. 1984, 141], Wargla ə-ntəf "arracher en tirant, extraire, épiler, plumer, cueillir" [Dlh. 1987, 228] || EBrb.: Ghadames e-ntəf "1. rompre en menus morceaux (pain), 2. enlever brin à brin, morceler, désagréger, 3. arracher" [Lnf. 1973, 250, #1177] || SBrb.: EWlmd.-Ayr nāntāf "être réécorché et ouvert de nouveau (blessure, plaie, égratignure)" [PAM 2003, 630] || Sem. \*√ntp:<sup>8</sup> Syr. nəṭup "to pull, draw out" [Lsl.] | Ar. natafa I "1. arracher, tirer (le poil, les plumes, la laine)", II "arracher avec force, une grande quantité (de poil, de laine, de plumes) à la fois" [BK II 1193] = V, VIII "perdre les cheveux, les poils, ceux de la barbe, les plumes" [Dozy II 639] = I "to pluck out, pull out, tear out" [Lsl.], Dathina ntf "arracher (se dit surtout des poils, d'une épine)" [GD 2741], Yemeni Ar. nataf "to catch, snatch away, tear out (hair), cut (wings)", nitif "to pick (bird), pluck off" [Piamenta 1990, 478], S'a<sup>c</sup>dah (Yemen) nataf "Vögel rupfen" [Behnstedt 1987, 305] || Harsusi netōf "to pluck (hair)" [Jns. 1977, 98], Jibbali ntəf "to pluck (hair, e.g.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. also Angas nyoot „to strain over heavy work” [Flk. 1915, 258] = nyòt „to strain over heavy work” [Jng. 1962 MS, 31].

<sup>6</sup> D. Meeks (l.c.) explained the GR verb from his unattested Eg. \*ntj "évoquer l'idée d'enfermer, d'enclorre" deduced from ntj "ficeler", ntntj "vessie", ntnt "diaphragme", snṭ "tracer les fondations sur le sol" etc.

<sup>7</sup> Ch. Ehret (1980, 184, #2) compared it with Iraqw nacaca "smooth" (which is to me semantically unacceptable) in order to set up SCu. \*naṭa "woman".

<sup>8</sup> There is a Sem. root var. with \*-ṭ-, cf. Akk. naṭ/tāpu "herausreißen" [AHW 767] = nṭp "1. (I) to tear out, 2. (IV) be plucked, torn out" [CAD n2, 128] = "to tear out, i.a., reeds" [Hnrg. 1991, 691] || Samaritan Aramaic nṭp "extraction, drawing" [Tal 2000, 521] | Yemeni Ar. ntf (so, -t-): naṭaf "er hat geöffnet" [Behnstedt 1993, 204-5] || Soqotri nṭf "casser" [Lsl. 1938, 266].

from the armpits and pubes, of women; older, religiously inclined men sometimes pluck their body-hair" [Jns. 1981, 196], Mehri *nəṭūf* "to pluck (hair)" [Jns. 1987, 303], Soqotri *ḡenīṭaf* "to pluck slowly, bit by bit" [Jns.] || Geez *nat(t)afa* "to tear to pieces, tear apart, lacerate, cut asunder, pluck out, spoil, deface, rob, open cotton balls" [Lsl.], Amharic *nättäfä* "to tear apart (cotton or the like)" [Lsl.], Tigre *nätfa* "to cut off" [Lsl.] (Sem.: Lsl. 1982, 57; 1987, 407) || Eg. *ntf* (NE) vs. met. var. *nft* (Med.) "(den Gefesselten) losbinden" (Wb II 356, 9) = "to loosen, untie, let loose" (Grd. 1911, 26, fn. 16; 1956, 15-16) = "to release, unharness" (Leitz 1999, 100)<sup>9</sup> > Dem. *ntf* "lösen" (DG 232:4) > Cpt.: (SLB) **NOYTṪ**, (SB) **NOYṪṪ** "to loosen, dissolve" (CD 232a; CED 111) = "lösen, erschlaffen" (KHW 129) = "délíer" (DELC 147). From AA \**√ntf* "1. to loosen, 2. pluck, 3. tear (in general)" [GT]. Of biconsonantal origin?<sup>10</sup>

**392. SBrb.** \**√ntz* "to pull out" [GT] > Hgr. *e-nteh* "arracher, détacher en tuant avec force et faisant effort" [Fcd. 1951-2, 1424] = *ə-ntəh* "arracher" [Prs.], Nslm. *ə-ntəz* "arracher" [Prs.], EWlmd.-Ayr *ə-ntəz* "1. arracher, 2. arracher et tirer à soi" [Bst./PAM 2003, 631], Ghat *ə-ntəž* "arracher" [Bst.] (SBrb.: Prs. 1969, 84, #562) || Sem.: Ar. *√ntš* I "1. tirer, extraire qqch., arracher (p.ex. une épine du pied, 1 poil, etc.), 2. tirer et chercher à enlever, p.ex. la viande avec le bec", *mi-ntāš-* "instrument avec lequel on arrache ou épile" [BK II 1193]. Borrowing excluded for phonological reasons.

**393. NBrb.: Wargla** *ə-ntəl* "s'esquiver, s'enfuir en courant" [Dlh. 1987, 228] || Sem.: Ar. *√ntl* "hervorspringen (aus einer Reihe)" [GB pace Barth, ZDMG 43, 188], Yemeni Ar. *√ntl* X "to rush out of the lines" [Piamenta 1990, 478].

### Berber \*n- + \*-ḏ-

**394. Brb.** \**√nd* "to search (?)" [GT]: NBrb.: Zwawa *√nd*: *naḏi* "chercher", *a-naḏi* "recherche" [Bst. 1890, 321] || SBrb.: EWlmd.-Ayr *i-naḏ* "i.a. discuter de (l'un avec l'autre pour parvenir à une décision), se consulter (au sujet de), être appelé à l'aide, être associé, convoqué (guerrier)" [PAM 2003, 590], Ghat *ta-naḏ*, pl. *či-naḏ-in* "conseil, avis" [Nhl. 1909, 131] || Sem.: Ar. *nšš* I "8. interroger qqn. minutieusement, le presser de questions" [BK II 1267] = "to go to the utmost point in questioning or asking, importune the man in questioning or asking, and urge s'one to tell the utmost that he knew, to question or ask the man respecting a thing so as to elicit the utmost that he possessed" [Lane 2797] || MSA: Jibbali *nižž* leš "he pumped him for information", *ḡənžēž* (l-) "to ask secretly, make discreet inquiries" [Jns. 1981, 200], Mehri *ṣənšāwž* "to ask secretly, make discreet enquiries" [Jns. 1987, 309-310] || Eg. *nd* "fragen, beraten" (PT-, Wb II 370-1), *ndnd* "fragen" (MK, Wb II 232, 1-9)<sup>11</sup> || ECh.: Bidiya *ʔinàḏ/ʔinḏu* "demander, interroger" [AJ 1989, 82].

<sup>9</sup> Its equation with a certain WCh. \**tVf-* "to tie" (suggested in OS 1992, 199 and HSED #2409) cannot be accepted.

<sup>10</sup> The third radical may be a root ext. as supposed in Sem. studies (GD 2741; Ehret 1989, 183, #56; Piamenta l.c. supra; Voigt 1997, 173), cf. Sem. \**√ntk* "ablösen" [GB 531] = "to pull out" [Lsl. 1987, 407] as well as Hbr. *√ntš*, *√ntš*, *√nts*, *√ntš*, *√nth*, *√ntr* (all with the basic sense "to separate"), or Dathina *√ntq* "arracher, tirer", *√ntk* "arracher" [GD 2741].

<sup>11</sup> The etymology of Eg. *nd* has been disputed so far. Some of the authors have already surmised the connection of Eg. *nd* with some of the AA reflexes, although in either semantically or phonologically misleading contexts. A. Ember (1913, 118, #78), followed in GÄSW 168, #683, compared it with Ar. *√nšh* "to give advice, counsel, be sincere (friend)". W.F. Albright (1927, 223), followed in GÄSW 168, #683, combined Eg. *ndnd* with Ar. *nngḡ* I "to deliberate". C.T. Hodge (1966, 45, #38) equated it directly with Hausa *nīcū* "to come to one's senses" and *nīcāccē* "person of reflection", which, however, belongs to a distinct AA root (below). V. Orel and O. Stolbova (HSED #1825) combined Eg. *nd* "to call" (!) with Ar. *nšš* (but in the sense "to dictate (a letter)") and WCh.: Tumaḡ *naž* "to chat", while at the same time (!) they (HSED #1854) identified Eg. *nd* with CCh.: Glavda *nggw* "to answer" and ECh.: Sokoro *negi* "shout". Ch. Ehret (1995, 321, #655) combined Eg. *nd* "to consult" with Ar. *nšš* "to announce, state explicitly" (not in its meaning quoted above which stands much closer to that of Eg. *nd*) and *nšh* "to advise and admonish sincerely" at the same time! O. Stolbova (1996, 118) was the first to compare Eg. *nd* with Bidiya *√ʔnd*, although erroneously derived the latter from her Ch. \**naž-* "to ask, tell". The dilettantic approach of some non-linguist Egyptologists (Maspero 1898, 137-9; Westendorf 1973, 137; Quack 2002, 182) explaining Eg. *nd* from the primary sense "ver-/zerreiben, mahlen" (OK-, Wb II 369-370) cannot be seriously considered.

**395. NBrb.: Mzg. nḍef** [Mzg. ḍ < AA \*ḥ] "1. être (r)avivé, irrité (plaie, blessure), se reouvrir, 2. souffrir d'une ancienne blessure, avoir une blessure qui s'est rouverte" [Tf. 1991, 466] ||| Sem.: Ar. √nṣf [Ar. ṣ < AA \*ḥ] IV "7. faire vite, promptement, avoir été prompt et expéditif" [BK II 1273]<sup>12</sup>. For the glottal sibilant correspondences cf. Takács 2006, 48-63.

**396. Brb. \*√nḍr** "to jump" [GT] > NBrb.: Shilh nḍer "bondir, (se) démener" [Jordan 1934, 95], Sus nder (sic, -d-) "sauter" [Lst. 1921, 295] || SBrb.: EWlmd. and Ayr ə-nḍər "sauter vivement desa place, sauter en l'air, s'envoler (mouche etc.), sauter auprès avoir touché, sans pénétrer, rater (coup de feu, ruse)" [PAM 2003, 591] ||| Sem.: Dathina √nṭr "sauter" [GD 2780], Yemeni Ar. naṭar "to jump" [Piamenta 1990, 488]<sup>13</sup> || ES \*√nṭr "to bounce, jump" [Lsl. 1960, 206]: Amharic nāṭṭärä "to jump, bounce", Tigrinya nāṭärä "to jump (around)", Gurage (Gyeto dialect) nāṭärä vs. (Musher, Masqan, Gogot, Soddo) nāṭṭärä "to jump around, bounce, skip around" (ES: Lsl. 1987, 408; Sem.: Lsl. 1979 III 464).

**397. SBrb.: Ayr a-nḍər**, pl. ə-nḍər-än "déchirure, fente, blessure" [PAM 2003, 591] ||| Sem.: Soqotri nṣr: nó-ti-šar (refl. t-stem) "être déchiré, se fendre" [Lsl. 1938, 272] = "to be torn" [Lsl. 1987] || Geez naḍara ~ našara "to rip up, tear off, rend, separate, split" [Lsl. 1987, 387] = naḍara "briser" [Lsl. 1938], Tigre nāčra "to tear asunder" [Lsl.] ||| Eg. nḍr (GW) "ostrakon" (NE, DLE II 44; GHWb 450) = "éclat de pierre" (AL 79.1965), cf. nḍ3 "Splitter o.ä. (von Holz und Stein)" (MK, NE, Wb II 377, 7-9) = "twig, splinter of wood" (Ember) = "chip (of wood, stone), flakes (of limestone on which inscriptions are written), splinter, nḍ3 of stone (employed for building, must be sizeable fragment, perhaps used for core masonry" (Harris 1961, 27) = "éclat de pierre, ostrakon" (Aufrère 1990, 101)<sup>14</sup> ||| NAgaw (from ES?): Bilin naçar "zerreißen, zerfleischen" [Rn. 1887, 283]. The underlying AA root might have been \*√nḥr ~ \*√nḥr "to tear, split" [GT].

**398. SBrb.: Hgr. e-nḍer** "gider (gotelettes de bouillie qui cuit)" [Barrère 1994, 17] ||| Eg. nḍ3ḍ3 "wallen (auch mit Bezug auf das Herz)" (Med., GHWb 449, cf. Wb II 377, 13), nḍ3ḍ3j.t "Aufwallen (des Herzens)" (Med., GHWb 449, cf. Wb II 377, 14).

**399. NBrb. √nḍr** "to cast" [GT]: Tuzin, Iboqqoyen, Ikhebdanen, Bottiwa √nḍr "jeter" [Biarnay 1917, 98], Wargla √nḍr: ənḍər "1. (laisser) tomber, faire tomber, 2. par ext.: faire une fausse couche, (faire) avorter" [Dlh. 1987, 213] ||| Eg. \*nḍr (so far unattested)<sup>15</sup>, a possible ancient source yielding Cpt. (SL)

<sup>12</sup> For the semantic shift cf., e.g., IE \*g<sup>w</sup>eiw- "to live" > French vite, English quick.

<sup>13</sup> A root var. with \*m- is represented by Ar. maṭara "4. marcher d'un pas rapide (se dit d'un cheval), 7. s'abattre avec rapidité en descendant des airs (se dit d'un oiseau)" [BK II 1122], which was combined in HSED 393, #1819 with CCh.: Glavda mdər "to run (away), flee, go away" [Rapp & Benzing 1968, 65].

<sup>14</sup> A. Ember (1912, 87; ESS §11.a.39) combined Eg. nḍ3 with Hbr. nēšer "Schoß, Sprößling, Wurzelschoß" [GB 519] = "twig, rod" [Ember] = "sprout, offshoot" [KB 718], which is misleading, since the latter originates in Hbr. √nṣr ~ Ar. nḍr "glänzen, grünen" [GB] = "to shine, thrive" [KB]. Accepting this inner Sem. derivation of the Hbr. word, F. von Calice (GÄSW 102, #428) assumed in Eg. nḍ3 a Sem. loanword! Others (Edel in AÄG lxiv; Vrg. 1973 Ib, 156 pace Fecht), in turn, saw in Eg. nḍ3 a prefix n- attached to an unattested \*ḍ3 > (S) **ḌḤ**, (B) **ḌḤI** "éclat". A. Militarev (MM 1983, 199) too, surmised in Eg. nḍ3 an n- prefix, which he affiliated with Sem. \*ṭVr(r)- "кремень", \*√ṭr- "to cut", and and LECu.: Oromo čiri "отрезать".

<sup>15</sup> The Eg. etymon of the Cpt. root has been debated. W.M. Müller (RT 31, 1909, 194 and fn. 3), followed by W. Spiegelberg (in his KHW 86), G. Burkard (1977, 39 and fn. 3), W. Vycichl (1990, 231 contra DELC 152), and Ch. Ehret (1995, 324, #631), explained it from Eg. nḍrj "packen, fassen" (OK-, Wb II 382-3), which Müller still misrendered as "to strike (down)" (rightly corrected by K. Sethe in his ÜKAPT VI 147), which was rightly rejected by the authors of Wb (cf. Vrg. 1950, 291), W. Vycichl (in his DELC 152), J. Osing (NBÄ 839, n. 1132 contra Osing 1998, 96 and 201, n. g), and S.D. Schweitzer (2003, 240, fn. 29). W. Westendorf (KHW 137, also fn. 1), in turn, assumed its derivation either from Eg. nḍr "zimmern" (allegedly pace Müller, whose suggested basic sense was, however, different) or nḍ3 "Splitter" (MK, NE, Wb II 377, 7-8).

**NOYXɛ**, (SBF) **NOYX** "werfen, legen", qual. "liegen", (S) **NOYXɛ ɛBOX** "weglegen, aussenden, abweisen, wegwerfen" (KHW 137)<sup>16</sup>.

**400. NBrb.: Mzg.** √**nɗw**: **nɗew** ~ **nɗu** "lâcher (couture, point de couture, point de couture), être décousu (vêtement)" [Tf. 1991, 469] ||| Sem.: Ar. naḏā I "1. ôter (son vêtement), 2. dépouiller qqn. de son vêtement, 3. tirer (p.ex. le sabre du fourreau, sortir la verge du fourreau d'un cheval)" [BK II 1282].

#### Abbreviations of language names

(A): Akhmimic, AA: Afro-Asiatic, Akk.: Akkadian, Ar.: Arabic, Aram.: Aramaic, (B): Bohairic, Bed.: Bed'awye, Brb.: Berber, Ch.: Chadic, CCh.: Central Chadic, CT: coffin texts, Cu.: Cushitic, E: East(ern), Eg.: Egyptian, ECh.: East Chadic, ECu.: East Cushitic, EWlmd.: East Tawllemmet, (F): Fayyumic, GR: Greek (Ptolemaic) and Roman Period, GW: syllabic or group-writing, Hbr.: Hebrew, HECu.: Highland East Cushitic, Hgr.: Ahaggar, Jbl.: Jibbali, (L): Lycopolitan (or Subakhmimic), LECu.: Lowland East Cushitic, Lit.: literary texts, LP: Late Period, M: Middle, MK: Middle Kingdom, MSA: Modern South Arabian, Mzg.: Tamazight, N: North, NBCh.: North Bauchi, NBrb.: North Berber, NK: New Kingdom, NOm.: North Omotic, Nslm.: Taneslemet, O: Old, OEg.: Old Egyptian, OK: Old Kingdom, Om.: Omotic, PCh.: Proto-Chadic, PCu.: Proto-Cushitic, PT: pyramid texts, Qbl.: Qabyle, S: South(ern), (S): Sahidic, Samar.: Samaritan, SBrb.: South Berber, Sem.: Semitic, Tna.: Tigrinya, W: West(ern), WBrb.: West Berber, WCh.: West Chadic, Zng.: Zenaga.

#### Abbreviations of language names

AJ: Alio & Jungraithmayr, Alb.: Albright, BK: Biberstein Kazimirsky, Bnd.: Bender, Brn.: Biarnay, Bst.: Basset, Crl.: Cerulli, Dlh.: Delheure, Dlt.: Dallet, EEN: Ehret & Elderkin & Nurse, Ehr.: Ehret, Fed.: Foucauld, Flk.: Foulkes, GB: Gesenius & Buhl, Grd.: Gardiner, GT: Takács, Hnrg.: Huehnergard, JA: Jungraithmayr and Adams, Jng.: Jungraithmayr, Jns.: Johnstone, KB: Koeehler & Baumgartner, Lbg.: Loubignac, Lnf.: Lanfry, Lsl.: Leslau, Lst.: Laoust, Mch.: Mouchet, Mlt.: Militarev, MM: Majzel' and Militarev, Mrc.: Mercier, Ncl.: Nicolas, Nhl.: Nehlil, OS: Orel & Stolbova, PAM: Prasse & Alojaly & Mohamed, Prs.: Prasse, RB: Rapp & Benzing, Rn.: Reinisch, Stl.: Stolbova, Stz.: Satzinger, TC: Taïne-Cheikh, Tf.: Taïfi, Tlm.: Tilmatine, Vrg.: Vergote, Vcl.: Vycichl, Wst.: Westendorf.

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<sup>16</sup> L. Reinisch (1887, 287) combined the Cpt. word with Sem. \*√nɗl, cf. esp. Yemeni Ar. √nɗl I "to throw away, take off, squander", III "to disjoin, disconnect, take apart, dispoint, detach" [Piamenta 1990, 488], which is, alternatively in principle, possible.

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